1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochooans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33--Analyst]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw [353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 875 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the re- 212 sult of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-
533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old
868 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In [562] recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, [636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

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311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
181 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an
369 island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development. Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the alters of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
435 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[391] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north
have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly
heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful
behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of
the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. But-
tons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in
quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and
Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west.
Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension
of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried
by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[235] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production
of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's
total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Oushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Oushikawa
[274] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[236] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some
weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed"
('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy
limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Oushichan.

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages.

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5:[1]

Areas of Occasional Surplus	Up to 6 persons per acre
Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency	6-9 persons per acre
Areas of Definite Deficiency	9-20 persons per acre
Semi-urbanized Areas	20-30 persons per acre
Urban Areas	Over 30 persons per acre

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Nago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent.

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Guntō increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Gushikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city.

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

[1] Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

102
161
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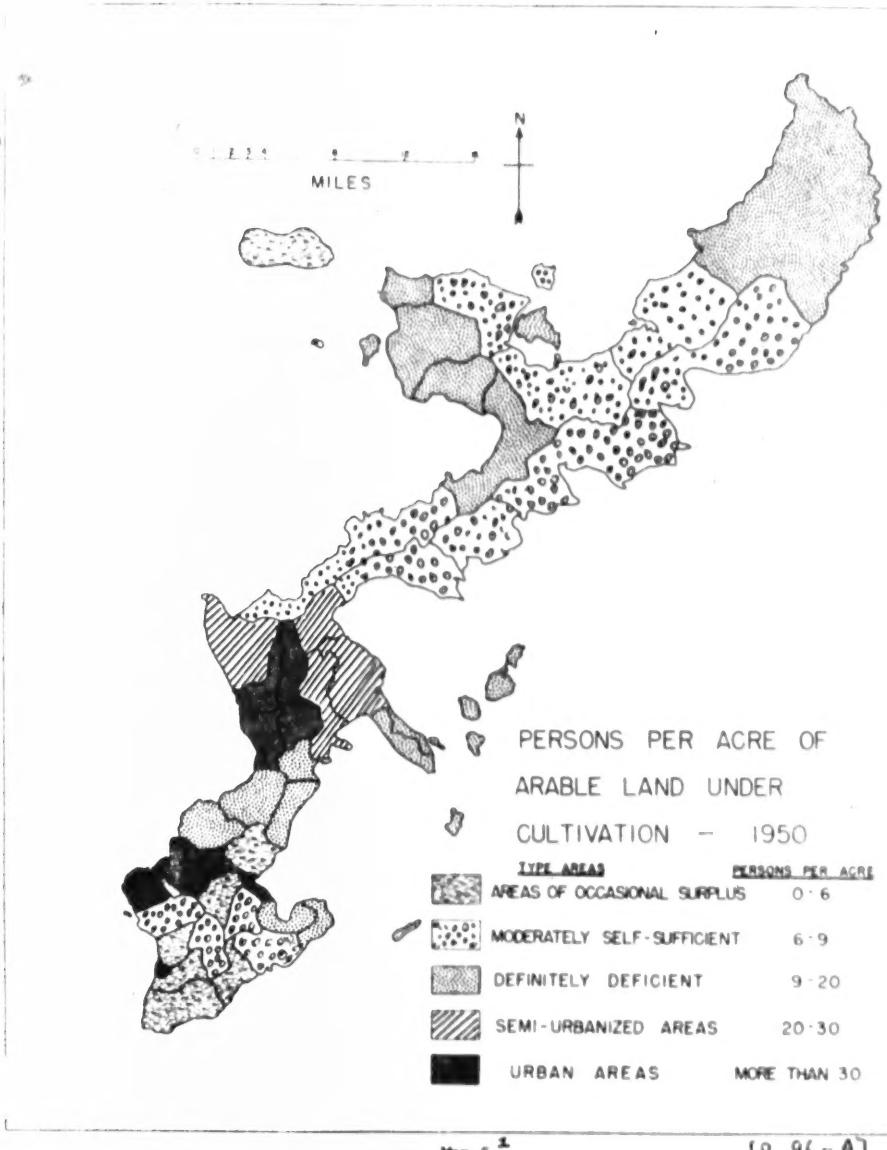

Map 5 $\frac{1}{A}$ [P. 96-A]

$\frac{1}{A}$ [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures. 161 217

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [377]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new patterns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation One of the most impressive changes in post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

178 369 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 20 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transportation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, telephones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior 178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there 546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of [177] western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 204 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 207 203 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 178 241 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agriculture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [91] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 809 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment.

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

• 369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

585 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178